L: Herskovits E-4, 6 (1934) 1937 SV3 Haiti SV3
Mirebalais

and, wearying of the singing, join the group outside the house, where those playing games and the story-tellers are gathered. One popular game is "forfeits," and a forfeit, if reclaimed by a girl, requires the singing of a *chanson de romance*, or if by a man, calls for the recitation of a poem or a humorous folk-tale. Before a forfeit is returned, all sing to a hand-clapping accompaniment:

C'est bien bon,	It is very good.
C'est bien bon,	It is very good.
Aha!	Aha!

Card-games, such as *mariai* (marriage), *trois-sept*, and *besique*, are also played. All these games are entered into with zest, for an important purpose in holding the wake is to amuse the dead, whose body lies near by, and thus send him away in good humor. When drinks are passed, the recipients must make three libations before drinking, one explanation holding that this is in accordance with the formula Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, another that the offering is for the *loa*, the dead, and the *mystere*. At about five o'clock in the morning the angelus closes the wake, after which most of those present leave, and only close friends and relatives remain to help with preparations for the funeral. This must take place the day following death, not only because of a legal requirement, but because of the fact that were a body to remain unburied for two nights, the expense of two wakes would have to be met. Before the ceremony of burial takes place, small children are often passed over the coffin three times, in leave-taking, that the spirit of the dead may not return for them.

The funeral itself is held in accordance with the rites of the Church, the difference between funerals consisting principally in the elaborateness of the ritual and the length of time the church bells are tolled, which in turn is determined by the ability of the family of the dead to meet the varying fees. Thus at the funeral of the mother of the *dirpaul* from Mire-

L: Herskovits E-4.5 (1934) 1937 SV3 Haiti SV3 Mirebalais

178 [illegible] in Africa, also allow play for the aesthetic impulse, have been
[325] lost as well. Ironworking is absent not only because the neces-
[326] sary deposits of iron ore are lacking, but because the technique of shaping the metal into various forms, which in Africa is in the hands of specialists, was apparently suppressed in the time of slavery. No native cloth is woven. Basketry has survived,
[330] but whereas in Africa designs of no small artistic merit are
178 achieved in this medium, it is markedly utilitarian in Haiti.
285 Even from a technical point of view, the basketry forms are of the simplest, the panniers used for transportation of products on mule-back being merely an in-and-out weave, and the plaited strips of which hats and the *manoute*, or carrying basket, are made are of a parallel simplicity.

● 524 Few African recreational forms have survived. *Wari*, the
525 draughts-like West African game found today in many parts
178 of the West Indies, is unknown in the interior of Haiti, though it has been introduced into Port-au-Prince, where it is played by longshoremen who have learned it from the sailors of near-by islands. String figures, important in West Africa, are not encountered, and no children's pursuits comparable to the play of young Africans were seen in Mirebalais, if the minor ceremony of marking the loss of childhood teeth be excepted. African types of recreation have in the main given way to cock-fights and card-games, both of which derive their interest from the opportunities they offer for gambling—a fact important in itself, since gambling is not one of the widespread African vices. The most important card-games are *trois-sept*, *mariage*, and *besique*, and both men and women
[541] know them and play them for stakes. Similarly cock-fighting, particularly during the dry season, is a passionate avocation of the men. Large sums are wagered on the results of an encounter, and feeling often runs high.*

529 The Haitian genius for art and recreation is best embodied
535 in the dance and its accompanying songs and drum rhythms. Virtuosity is attained not only by the dancers, but even more

L: Haskovits 1-4,5 (1934) 1937 SV2 H401 SV3 Mirebalais

with the purely Catholic rituals carried on at the village church, are seen to hold an important if unofficial place in the complex of rites known in the Haitian Church calendar as the Fête of Saint d'Eau.

During the two or three days preceding the fête and on the fifteenth of July itself, an air of great gayety not unlike the carnival spirit accompanying European Church festivals pervades the surrounding country. Camions traverse the almost impassable side road, bringing crowds of people from Port-au-Prince, from the Dominican border, and even from the north, who throng the streets and the shrines and tramp the miles from the village to the waterfalls or visit the nearer sacred sites of St. John's Wood and En bas Palmes, to light candles and ask the satisfaction of their needs. Like the falls themselves, these spots by their very beauty awaken a sense of emotional awareness, and it is not strange that here, as at the falls, many possessions occur. At night, in particular, the great trees with their interlacing serpent-like roots, the gaping earth which at En bas Palmes is witness to the uprooting of the palm tree where the miracle occurred, and the stream of sacred water, all make a scene of indescribable eeriness, heightened by the flickering candles given as offerings, and the open lamps of those who stay the night here to fulfill their vows.

In the town itself gambling and other games go on, and dances of all kinds are held at night, among them vodou and *bal*, though at these public dances no possessions are encountered. One of the most colorful aspects of the scene is the *pratiants*, wearing clothing of varied colors in fulfillment of a request by the *lwa* they worship or an obligation to them. Such folk are not permitted in church unless the clothing which marks them is covered by ordinary dress, but they walk the streets, often possessed and often using their power to heal those whom they encounter. Possessions by Ogun, by Gede, by Baron Samedi, by Dumballa, by Ezilie and other vodou deities were observed, particularly at the shrines, where their devotees prostrated [illegible] the [illegible]

with the corpse as are nearby with friends. The one who lurked the corpse remains constantly at its side as members of the family come and go, since the body must never be alone.[1]

But outside the house another kind of activity goes on. There the young people usually gather to sing gay songs, to play games, and to listen to stories. A professional storyteller, or a nonprofessional of repute, is called upon to entertain the children. He may give an entire night to Bouki and Malice stories, or to *contes* with interspersed songs in which the audience participates. Special singing games, stick games, and card games are played. But the drums are silent, both in the dead person's house and in the countryside at large. Rhythms for the game songs are provided by hand-clapping, or by vocal sounds which simulate percussion instruments.

Burial ceremonies vary according to local tradition and the status of the deceased person. Near the little fishing village of Petit Goave in south-western Haiti, I witnessed a funeral cortege which might have been seen almost anywhere in the country. It was led by the widow of the dead man. She rode on a white horse, followed by four men carrying the dead body on a litter made of plain planks. There was no coffin, the body being covered only by its white shroud.[2] Behind the corpse plodded a group of twelve or fifteen peasants, friends and relatives of the dead man. Some of them had just come in from the fields and still carried their machetes in their hands. Others carried short *coumacoupe* sticks, which are believed useful for warding off loas and other demons who lurk along the path of the traveler.

The woman on the horse lamented loudly. When she came to where other peasants stood respectfully at the road's edge, she stopped her horse and faced them, raising her voice to an anguished pitch, calling on them to take note of her bereavement and of the fine virtues of the dead man. Some of the spectators whom she addressed, standing with their hats in hand, nodded and tried to say consoling words, such as "Oui Maman, li grand monnet" (Yes, Mama, he was a fine man), or "Quand Bondieu vlé ou li prend" (When God wants you he takes you). A market woman with a load on her head suddenly became possessed by a loa as the cortege passed her. This seemed to increase the anguish of the widow, who lamented with increased vigor.

The four men carrying the corpse sometimes moved in a zigzag course, first to one side of the road, then to the other. When the procession came to a crossroad it stopped momentarily. The youngest, scarcely distinguishable from the other peasants in blue denim, came forward and stood in the center of the crossroads shaking his tiny hand bell and calling upon Maît' Kalfu (Master of the Crossroads) to grant safe passage. While he

[1] [Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Cf. p. 350 *Category 18 - Analyst*]
[2] [For fuller note, see *Category 16*, p. 350. *- Analyst*]

beyond the obvious fear of contagion. In his study of Dahomey, Herskovits notes:

> . . . Small-pox is believed to be sent as a punishment for grave offenses in the eyes of these [the Sogbos] deities, and it is taken to indicate that either the dead person himself or a member of his family has committed some heinous crime such as the practice of black magic. A person who dies of small-pox may only be buried after permission has been given by the chief priest of the Earth cult.[2]

Thus, in Haiti, though the connections with the past are clouded, it is clear that victims of lightning and smallpox are treated as a special class of criminals or malefactors.

Ordinary malefactors such as malevolent criminals and murderers—until recent years, at least—were not buried in the communal graveyard. They, too, were segregated at the periphery of the cemetery or buried at the edge of a trail or road where the traffic would not permit them to rest and where their graves would be under constant surveillance. The roadside grave sometimes was also the fate of a person killed by lightning.

That these special burials are related to the Dahomean and Yoruban concepts of retribution for crimes against the deities is supported by the similarity of treatment accorded victims of lightning and diverse and common criminals. In Haiti, Herskovits observes: "Those who die of small-pox or leprosy, suicides, or persons shot as a punishment for crime are not buried in the communal cemetery, but in special sections of the graveyard," the suicides and criminals being set apart from the others.[3]

Graves found near the seashore, lake shores, or riverbanks frequently are declared to belong to persons who died of drowning.

Approximately nine days after a person's death, the "last prayers" are said, and the soul of the deceased is presumed to have departed from the house. Once more, under the moonlit outside there are games, storytelling, and singing. On this night, however, there is also drumming and dancing of a special kind. Usually it is the Juba, or Martinique, dance, which is believed to be specially enjoyed by the dead, and it is the older people, rather than the young, who participate. These festivities are believed to give cheer to the deceased and to "encourage" him on his way. On the next night comes the *manjé mort*, the feast for the family dead, a ritual which continues periodically through the years.

Sometimes in Haiti you may come upon an old tomb or grave before which a dish of specially prepared food has been set. This is part of the *manjé mort* ritual.

A man may make provision in advance of his death for the rites which follow his burial. He may designate special animals to be killed, have

[illegible]

J. Courlander 8-5 (1937-1943) 1960 SVS Haiti SV3

In the Artibonite Valley, where much rice is grown, a similar ceremony takes place before the rice is gathered from the fields. In this ceremony it is rice that is shared with the family ancestors, who have first rights, and with close friends who have aided with the planting. This feast is called *manjé diri*, or sometimes *goute diri*, the tasting of the rice. Small amounts of rice are taken from the fields, cooked with red beans or Congo beans, or perhaps made into dumplings. The farmer's friends and relatives gather while the food is still cooking, and play games such as *awari* and *trois-sept*. The children play *gage* games and sing songs, and sometimes a *maît' conte*—a storyteller—comes to entertain them.

When the food is finally ready, the family ancestors are given their share. The farmer takes a calabash bowl of the rice and walks around the house grounds calling upon his immediate ancestors to accept their share. He drops a little food on the ground for the remembered dead, for the unknown dead who preceded them, for the Haitian dead, and for the dead of Africa. He also drops small portions for the dead twins, the dead albinos, the deformed dead, and the dead who have lost limbs, and for the distressed dead who have been improperly buried, or who may not have received the feasts that were due them. Afterward, he offers food to those who died of drowning, or who were lost at sea and never heard of again.

Each course is shared with the ancestors. The farmer takes a pitcher of water, spilling a little here and a little there until the dead have quenched their thirst. He also gives a little of everything to the family lwa. Then the calabashes are set out on a bench or table reserved for the dead, and this food is not disturbed. Food for the marassa is set out separately on the ground in three small *canis*, or gourd dishes.

The family ancestors whose good will has made the harvest possible having been taken care of, the food is now shared among the extended family and the friends who helped in the fields. Later there are prayers to the lwa, the saints, and God, led by the houngan or a prêt' savane. To finish the affair, there may be Juba-type dances for the older people, while the children watch or play *gage* games.

Only after this service are the farmer and his family and his *coumbite* (mutual labor group), if he belongs to one, free to go out and harvest the rice.[1]

These feasts of the rice and yam harvests are not of New World origin. Similar harvest festivals for yams or rice are held over a wide area of West Africa. There, as in Haiti, the fundamental concern is with the family ancestors, whose good will must be constantly nourished so that the rains continue to fall, the crops flourish, and human beings remain fertile. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, for example, the yam and rice harvests are

[1 Account given by Jean Ravel Pinto. CG P.351, Category 116. -- Analyst]

2: Courlander 8-5 (1937-1945) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

and covered with tiny mirrors or bits of colored glass. The towering headdress of antlers or papier-mâché sculpture unavoidably recalls similar headdresses in West Africa. Each roi has his own style of dance, which is usually accompanied by drums. It may be a belly dance, a dance of delicate balance, or one of complicated footwork and semiacrobatics such as the imitation of a pair of scissors at work. Throughout the dancing the headdress remains majestically erect.

In addition to the roi Lwalwadi and the mâit' Rara (who is constantly in the midst of things, blowing his whistle), there are other traditional Rara personalities: the *major jour*, who juggles with a metal baton (sometimes two or three of these jugglers work together), and the *jongleur*, a juggler or strong man who performs such feats as dancing while holding a fully set table off the ground with his teeth.

On the southwest peninsula, in the region around Jérémie, there is a splurge of wrestling exhibitions during Rara days. Known as *pingé*, this festival wrestling is done with a background of excited drumming and has a striking resemblance to wrestling traditions in West Africa. Local "champions" will invade a neighboring community, sometimes traveling considerable distances to make a challenge. As in West Africa, some of these wrestlers take their own musicians with them. The musicians often are provided by the village in which the events take place. If a challenge is accepted, the spectators form a large circle, with the wrestlers in the center and the musicians to one side. There may be drums and bamboo flutes, occasionally supplemented by large earthern jars and lengths of bamboo beaten with sticks. The wrestlers are dressed only in shorts. When a man is thrown, the event is over, and another pair of wrestlers takes over. Sometimes a "champion" will take on a series of opponents until he is tired. Afterward he may move on to another community to find new competition, perhaps accompanied by a large group of friends and supporters from his own village. When the Rara season comes to an end, pingé is over for the year. It is one of the few athletic sport activities of the Haitian peasant.

And now and then during Rara a *debois* is seen. The *debois* is a carved wooden marionette with a short handle below. Its arms and legs are moved by pulling a string. It is usually painted, and sometimes it is dressed. One debois observed was provided with a loose dresslike costume; when the string was pulled, a large phallus hinged into view in an erect position. This marionette was an object of endless funmaking among spectators.[2]

Another type of marionette is the "Two Kings," made of papier-mâché and operated with strings. The "Two Kings," sitting in a papier-

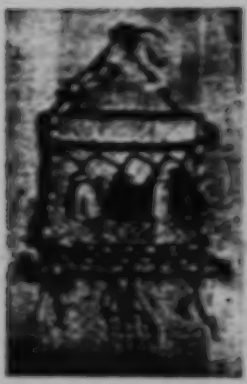
2. [Footnote appears in category 116, p. 351.--Analyst]

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P.112-HH]

296
298
532

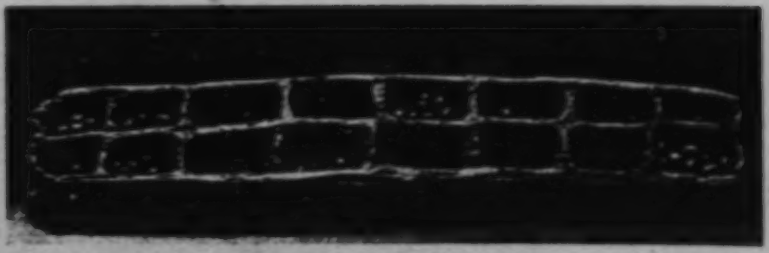
54. *Inside surface of a calabash bowl used in rituals of the houngfor, painted in black and white. The figure represents the graveyard lwa, Baron Samedi, with a pick, shovel, and tombstone. Length, 15 inches.*

285
482
531



55. *An ajor cousin, the traditional peanut (soapstone).*

524



56. *Wari board cut from a mahogany log. Length, 29 inches.*

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P 112-RR]

77. *Playing Tchimo.*

78. *Playing Balanci Yaya.*

J. Courlander 8-4 (1937-1944) 1960 893 Mahl 893

And when the revolution came he produced for the Haitian armies knives, gun parts, and wheels to transport cannon. By the term of these trade he made ingeniously devised metal objects to be thrown on the roads, before the French cavalry troops—objects so shaped that, no matter how they fell, a single sharp point stood erect to cripple the enemy horses. Yet knowledge of the West African uses of iron did not altogether disappear, and during the first century of independence the Haitian blacksmith created many old-style knives, spears, and ritual objects for the cult temple.

Even today, some of this old-style work is to be found in houses in the southwestern peninsula. One may see simple or ornate iron standards, made to support ceremonial offerings or candles, strikingly similar to standards in ancestral shrines in Dahomey. There are iron bells, both single and double, made in pure West African style; ornate ritual swords and sabers which are the crests of certain deities; coiled and uncoiled iron serpents representing the gods Damballa and Ayido; and stylized or semirealistic portraits of the deities. Many of these old pieces are nineteenth-century survivals; others have been forged within the past decade. [2 b]

An over-all impression of Haitian material culture is that artistic decoration is almost entirely absent and that the prime emphasis is on utility. Wooden cooking spoons are efficient in form, but missing from them is the delicate decorative carving often found in West Africa. The long wooden washing bowl, or *gamelle*, and the wooden mortar in which grain is pulverized are likewise clean-cut but stark and plainly utilitarian. Clay bowls, bottles, and storage jars are usually of simple, uniform design, with only accidental variations; there is little use of glazes, and the clay is often heavy and thick. Should there be a wari gameboard in the peasant hut, the chances are that it is roughly made, without legs or carved designs. Dugout canoes are usually crude in appearance, heavy and thick-walled, and irregular in form.

Yet there are many evidences—though one must seek them out—that esthetic impulses are quite alive. The gay peasant straw knapsack, or *alfor*, without which no mountain man makes a journey, has a charm and grace that is not diminished by familiarity and cheapness. Decorated with sisal braid and tassels, and colored with green and magenta dyes, each *alfor* on close inspection appears to be unique. In some communities in the south and southwest, burlap squares also are painted with these traditional dyes. About forty inches across, and made of sugar bags, these paintings swarm with geometric patterns and sometimes with figures of flowers and animals. They are purely decorative, being

[2 a] [See plates 42-51, pp. 112-DD—112-FF.--Analyst]

533*
539*
533
579

Çaliro Çaliro ça!
Mîro en hanâlle lû!
Ça qui fin arrangé ranpe ça!
Mîro en hanâlle lû! [Ex. 122]

Way way way!
Way way way!
Way way way!
Those who can't fight, take care of yourselves!
Take me into the battle!
Çaliro, this Çaliro!
Take me into the battle!
Those who are delicate, take care of yourselves!
Take me into the battle!

Another battle cry in song goes:

C'est nous mêmes, c'est nous mêmes!
C'est nous mêmes, c'est nous mêmes!
Pas wi'in déjà gros Nèg' rwa!
Na mainpain djab lû!

It is we myself, it is we myself!
It is we myself, it is we myself!
Don't you see I am a big man, two?
I will hold that devil!

In the following song an aggrieved man declares he is strong as a bull, and warns his enemy to beware.

Anou mayain tè glisé nou c'est lûf oh!
Anou mayain tè glisé nou c'est lûf oh!

I'll fix you, treacherous fellow,* I am a bull, oh!
I'll fix you, treacherous fellow, I am a bull, oh!

Even a successful game of dice is the subject of bragging:

533*
539*
524 ●

Pauvi fwi,
Oh pauvi belle,
Pauvi un beauté!
Pauvi fwi,
Oh pauvi belle,
Pauvi un beauté!
Yi é voir frappé nou,
Nou fé trois beauté [Ex. 123]

More than sweet,
Oh, more than handsome,
More than a beauty!
More than sweet,
Oh, more than handsome,
More than a beauty!
Last night I played dice,
I made three aces!

* *Tè glisé*, literally "slippery earth," means a person who is treacherous.

[P 185]

17. Children's World: Gage Songs and Games

On the night of last prayers for a deceased person, and on other party occasions, children while away the hours until bedtime with special songs and games. Sometimes the games are led by an older member of the family. More often, left to their own devices, the children play unsupervised. It is regarded as fitting that the youngest members of the community should be enjoying themselves while the last rites are being held for one who has recently died. This view is held not merely in regard to children; older people, too, engage in gay activities, such as dancing the Juba.

Many children's games are known throughout the country, others have only a regional popularity. The games mentioned here are among those played in southern Haiti, mainly in the neighborhood of the capital, Port-au-Prince.

One favorite is known as Balancé Yaya. The children—as few as four or as many as ten or twelve—crouch on the ground in a circle. Each of them has a stone in his hand, which he strikes rhythmically on the earth as they sing together:

Jésus, Marie, Joseph oh,
Rat li mangé pigeon moin.
Jésus, Marie, Joseph oh,
Rat li mangé pigeon moin.
Rat passé, Robinette passé,
Fai' ti Marie manché, allé li. . . . [Ex. 129]

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, oh,
The rat has eaten my pigeon.
Jesus, Mary, Joseph, oh,
The rat has eaten my pigeon.
The rat goes by, Robinette goes by,
Make little Mary walk, go there. . . .

On the words *allé là*, each of the players slides his stone in front of another person. There is no fixed direction of rotation, and the stone may be passed to the left or to the right, or even across the circle. This passing of stones continues while the players sing:

Balancé Yaya,	Even up, Yaya,
Yaya oh,	Yaya, oh,
Yaya Madame Mongo,	Yaya Madame Mongo,
Balancé Yaya moin,	Even up, my Yaya,
Moin lui' prime moin,	I say my prayers,
C'est pour' Yaya,	They are for Yaya,
Balancé Yaya	Even up, Yaya,
Yaya oh	Yaya, oh,
Yaya Madame Mongo. [Ex. 129]	Yaya Madame Mongo.

While this part of the song is being sung, the stones are being passed rapidly this way and that. Players may use only one hand for this purpose, and at some stage one of them finds himself with more stones in front of him than he can dispose of, and he is declared *gayr*, or "it." Then the game begins anew.

In another animated game called Thérèse, the boys and girls stand in a circle and sing, clapping hands and going through a variety of postures, gestures, and dance steps. It is a sort of "follow the leader" routine. First, one of the group makes rhythmic motions in time to the music, and the other players must do the same thing. The leader may swing his hips, do fancy footwork, posture with his arms, or twist about, and the others in the circle are obliged to imitate him. Then another child gets his turn to set the pace. One of the songs heard with this game is the following, which imitates the voice of the guinea hen:

Cipan Cimalo!
C'est ça maman'm'a dit moin,
Cipan Cimalo!
C'est ça maman'm'a dit moin,
Cipan Cimalo!
Ale tain tain Cimalo!
Rain tain tain Cimalo!
Tain tain tain tain Cimalo!
Wa tain tain Cimalo!
(And so on, with variations.) [Ex. 130]

Cipan Cimalo!
This is what my mother told me,
Cipan Cimalo!
This is what my mother told me,
Cipan Cimalo!
Ale tain tain Cimalo!

Boing wing wing Cimaki
Tsink tsink tsink tsink Cimaki
Wa tsink tsink Cimaki

For the game called Dilina, two chairs are required as props. They are placed a few feet from each other, facing toward the center. Behind one chair is a boy, behind the other a girl. The other children clap their hands and sing:

Cou'm passé, Dilina!	Wherever I pass is Dilina!
Cou'm viré, c'est Dilina!	Wherever I turn is Dilina!
Mamman mamman, Dilina!	Grandmother, Dilina!
Papa papa, Dilina!	Grandfather, Dilina!
Mamman mamman, Dilina!	Grandmother, Dilina!
Papa papa, Dilina!	Grandfather, Dilina!
Cou'm passé, Dilina!	Wherever I pass is Dilina!
Cou'm viré, c'est Dilina!	Wherever I turn is Dilina!
Dilina jolé ah jolé, Dilina!	Dilina works, ah, works, Dilina!
Jolé pou' l'argent, Dilina! [Ex. 131]	Works for money, Dilina!

The two children in the center, at a given signal, begin to move, each circling his own chair. The circling continues, the girl pacing her movements in an effort to avoid meeting the boy face to face. The boy times his movements so that he may meet the girl face to face. If and when he accomplishes his purpose he takes his reward—an embrace—and another couple comes forward to repeat the play.

Another game of the courting variety is called Find a Beautiful Woman. A chair is placed in the center of the play area, and a girl is designated to sit there as the "beautiful woman." She has nothing else to do. The others sing:

Chuch' yon femme qui belle eh!
Sindé, Sindé Macoya!
Chuch' yon femme qui belle, fré!
Sindé, Sindé Macoya! [Ex. 132]

Look for a woman who is beautiful, eh!
Sindé, Sindé Macoya!
Look for a woman who is beautiful, brother!
Sindé, Sindé Macoya!

Holding a kerchief in his hand, one of the children marches or dances around the chair of the "beautiful woman." After several trips around, he retires and drops the kerchief in the lap of another player, who comes forward and repeats the performance. Anyone who refuses to pay his respects to the "beautiful woman" is "it."

Some games are of the personal "test" or ordeal kind. In one of them

524 the objective is to refrain from laughing. A player stands in the middle of a circle of seated participants, each of whom in turn gives a laugh of some kind—a giggle, a loud laugh, an ironic laugh, a laugh of ridicule, and so on. If the player in the center cannot refrain from laughing with the others, he loses and someone else takes his place in the middle.

Various kinds of blindfold games go by the name Bonsé, or Bonsé. In one of them, a blindfolded player moves from one seated child to another, feeling them with his hands as he goes, and trying to identify them by touch. When he guesses correctly, the identified person changes places with him, and the game continues.

In a second form of Bonsé, it is the person in the center who can see, and the seated players who are blindfolded. The one in the center moves around the inside of the circle with a kerchief in his hand, pressing it against the lap of each blindfolded player as he passes. Somewhere en route he leaves the handkerchief in a lap. It is so light that it is not easily detected. If a blindfolded person guesses correctly that the handkerchief is in his lap he is freed from the circle and comes to the center. If he guesses incorrectly, it a mark against him.

Still another type of game is based on quick and accurate responses. This one is called Uncle Pierre. Each player in the group is given a name specifying a number of sheep. That is, the first player's name may be Ten Sheep; the next one, Fourteen Sheep; the next one, Seven Sheep; the next one, Nineteen Sheep; and so on.

The "master" of the group begins by saying, "Uncle Pierre went to my farm and took Seven Sheep."

The person named Seven Sheep must reply, "Tomantor."

The "master" asks, "How many sheep did he take?"

And Seven Sheep replies, selecting the name of one of the other participants, "Nineteen Sheep."

The one named Nineteen Sheep replies, "Tomantor."

The "master" call out, "How many sheep did he take?"

Nineteen Sheep answers, "Fourteen Sheep."

Fourteen Sheep answers, "Tomantor."

And so on. If a player answers to the wrong number, or if he gives a name for which there isn't a corresponding player, he loses and is gage.[1]

[1] [The description of this game is from Paul, "Les Jeux à gage, Bulletin du Bureau d' Ethnologie, July, 1949, P. 51. Cf. P. 353, Category 116.--Analyst]

D. Cranbrooke B-0 (1897-1963) 1960 Ref. Hall Ref.

534 [541]

Among the noisemakers heard mainly at the time of the Rara festival (usually on Good Friday) are the *ewe-ewe*, or bull-roarer—a thin flat piece of wood whirled on the end of a cord—and the *rara*, the common wooden ratchet. Various types of wooden flutes, usually of bamboo, are also used.

[784]

In the remoter parts of the mountains you may now and then hear of an instrument known as the *Awara*. A century ago, it would appear, the *Awara* was a stringed instrument resembling a banjo. The similarity of names is striking, in view of the instrument's early form. Today, however, the word *Awara* is applied to the homemade fiddle which is used to accompany the *juinori* and other old dances of European origin.

[799]

534 524 178

A children's instrument seen sometimes in the mountains is constructed of half of a calabash shell, across the opening of which have been stretched a number of cords. This plucked device appears to be a decadent form of the African trough zither.

[pp 203-313 not processed]

2. Games

THE GAME OF CAILLE, OR WARI

524
527
[184]

The African counting game played with beans or stones in a carved wooden tray (known in various parts of Africa as *warí, mancala, adi,* etc.) is still known and played in the southwestern mountains of Haiti, particularly in the region south of the Léogane Plain. In Africa the game has innumerable variants. Most often the carved playing board or tray has two rows of six, seven, or eight holes, or pockets, sometimes with a large pocket at each end for winnings. In Ethiopia the playing board consists of three rows of six pockets each. In the upper Congo region a form of the game uses a board of twenty-eight pockets in four rows. Among wandering herding peoples in East Africa the holes are simply dug in the earth, and for playing pieces stones or dried camel droppings are used. The game not only is widespread throughout Africa but has an ancient tradition in Indonesia, the Philippines, southern and southeastern Asia, and the Arabic Middle East.

In Haiti the game is usually called *caille*, or "house." It is played on a long, sixteen-hole board of the kind used in West Africa. The playing pieces are usually maize kernels, dried peas, or wari beans. Where wari beans are used, the game is sometimes called by that name. This is a curious syncretism. The wari bean itself is so named because of a black marking which looks like a smile, in Creole *awe ri* ("going to laugh"). There are several ways of playing wari in Haiti; all have the common objective of capturing pieces on the opponent's side of the board. This is referred to as entering his "house" and "eating" the occupants, a terminology that is employed elsewhere where the game is known.

524

One method of playing is as follows. Starting with four pieces in every hole, a player takes up all the pieces from any hole on his own side of the board and redistributes them in a counterclockwise direction, dropping one into each hole as far as they will go. When his last piece is

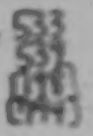
[P. 332]

dropped, he picks up the contents of the next hole and continues the redistribution. Should his last piece eventually fall into an empty pocket, his turn is ended and his opponent begins. However, if his last piece falls into a hole containing one or two pieces, he "eats" those pieces along with the piece which he places there. He continues the play as before, starting with the following hole, manipulating the play until he ends in an empty hole. The one who takes the most pieces wins. In some Haitian variants of the game, each person's play is limited to the distribution of the contents of a single hole.

THE GAME OF MAYAMBA

This game, like *oware*, appears to be of African origin. It is played with four chips made of shell, baked clay, or broken chinaware. One side of each chip is white, the other usually blue. Any number of players may participate, and, as in dice, all compete against the thrower. *Mayamba* has a strictly gambling incentive. If a player throws two whites and two blues, or four whites, or four blues, he wins. If he throws any odd combination he loses.

(Eve-Ave is ritual language. Honmé knows are the servitors of the lwa/spirit being addressed by an unidentified lwa.)



Example 136

Achadé, oh, oh!
Achadé, I have no mother here to speak for me!
Achadé, oh!
Achadé, I have no mother here to speak for me!
Oh Achadé, oh!
Ogoun is bad, oh!
Achadé Papa!
Ogoun is bad, oh!
Etc.

(The song is addressed to the lwa Achadé; it complains of the behavior of another lwa, Ogoun.) [982]

Example 137

Beat the drum for me!
I shall . . . , beat the drum for me!
Etc.
Three times after the Angelus, oh!
Three times after the Angelus, oh!

(This appears to be a children's game song. Three "times" after the Angelus would be three hours after six o'clock in the evening.) [324]

Example 138

Liberia fell down!
Liberia fell down! *Adolf*
I am sending a whip for his back!
Etc.

(A children's game song.)

Example 139

Adoléwé!
Mijerezalo Aïdo, my Loko, Adoléwé!
Mijerezalo Aïdo, my Loko, Adoléwé!
Mijerezalo my Loko, Adoléwé!
Etc.

(This is a song of supplication to the lwa Loko. The word *mijerezalo* signifies supplication.) [982]

Example 140

Ten cents is not a dollar,
Cousin, don't take cousin, oh, cousin!

533 Exhibit 163
536
538
● 524 The pig says waiii!
The pig says waiii, but waiii!
Etc.
See the pig having fun!
Kokè, kokè, but waiii!

(A children's *gaga* song.)

Exhibit 164

Bedwetter! Pee!
Adieu, Bedwetter, make Bedwetter walk!
Bedwetter, don't it, don't it, Bedwetter!
Make Bedwetter walk!

(A children's game song.)

533 Exhibit 165
539
You arrive, Rigol, you arrive!
You arrive, Rigol, you arrive!
When Rigol turned into a large pig,
He came to [arrive] to see us!

(This song names a specific individual, Rigol, as having turned into a pig, like a member of the Victimfinger Society, but it is not clear whether it is intended to be taken seriously or is merely humor.)

Exhibit 166

I will swing, eh!
The mosquito says I will swing, eh!
Etc.

534 (Swing is the sound the mosquito makes. The song is usually sung to the accompaniment of the *tambour moringouin*, or mosquito drum.)

Exhibit 167

The small boy stands on the terrace,
He stamps his feet *doo doo!*
The small boy stands on the terrace,
He stamps his feet *doo doo!*
Oh, [unchained?] gives them *politesse*, eh!
The small boy stands on the terrace,
He stamps his feet *doo doo!*
[Unchained?] gives them *politesse*, eh!
Furiously gives them *politesse*, eh!
Mayeux!
Find your woman, *mayeux!*
Mayeux-yeux!